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E. Van Evenstraat 2 c
3000 Leuven



DEPARTEMENT SOCIOLOGIE

Afdeling Sociologische Theorie en Methoden

Centrum voor Theoretische- en Onderwijssociologie

SOCIOLOGICAL FRAMES OF REFERENCE OUTLINE

COURSE TAUGHT AT UNIVERSITAS KATOLIK PARAHYANGAN BANDUNG
(INDONESIA)

J.C. VERHOEVEN

Bandung, 1989 (23rd November - 22nd December)

Leuven, 1990

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Chapter 1. SOCIOLOGY OF M. WEBER

A. SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

Object: meaningful action of religious person.

What is the influence of religions behavior in

- 1) ethical action and economical action
- 2) politics and education.

- 1) Attention for $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{opposition between Religion} \\ \text{tension} \end{array} \right.$
and other action

More tension in religions directed to
salvation (=conviction)
than in ethical religions (e.g. Roman)

- 2) Religion is action in relation with supernatural powers
---> people is creating symbols.
- 3) What is the competence of the Gods?
 - old irrational religions: enforce the gods
 - rationalisation of belief: service and worship of God
 - > concept of sin
- 4) Religions of conviction produce disciples, missionaries, communities ---> bureaucratisation of religion
- 5) Religious action brings to:
Asceticism
 - ascetic life = ethical and religious activity + people believe that God is guiding these actions:

Asceticism: world rejecting: an escape from the world, from the friends, from political and intellectual interests.

innerworldly: action sees himself and friends as creation of God and wants to worship God through his profession.

Mystic: rejects world to find peace in God.

6) Attitude of different strata towards Religion.

7) Relation Protestant ethics and Spirit of capitalism.

Ch.1. Religious ties and social stratification

Catholic press and congresses in Germany tell:

- Landowners, capitalists and trained labourers are mostly protestant.
- Statistics confirm.
- Higher education: - Cath. participate less
 - Few catholics in technical and commercial education
 - Cath. follow more humanistic grammar school.
- This is unusual: political and religious minorities participate more in economical life, because they are excluded from political life.

Ch.2. The spirit of capitalism

- Tentative definition of Cap. by Benjamin Franklin.
 - e.g. - time is money
 - credit is money
 - money is producing money
 - pay your debts and loans.

Consequence: make money (biblical task) is virtue and calling

I.e. the social ethics of the capitalist culture.

- Spirit of capitalism was present before capitalistic order.
- In this capitalism labour became a calling.
- This is best produced by education.
- This education was best done by Pietists.

- Nevertheless today there is no link between religion and behaviour: capitalists are indifferent or an enemy of the church.
- There still is a positive attitude toward property and money: this attitude is necessary for capitalism.
- Moreover rationality rules the organisation of labour. Rationality is not only present in protestant countries or in the most capitalist countries.
- Problem: Where is rationality coming from?
Where is the idea of calling and concernment to labour coming from?

Ch.3. Luther's concept of Calling

- Calling is to live for God by doing his duties given to the individual by his position in the world.
- For Luther this means not to work for wealth.
- Weber takes as starting point Calvinism and other Puritans to show the link between P.E. and Spirit of Capitalism.
- But: Capitalism is no creation of Reformation.
- W. looks for: is there a correlation between forms of religion and practical ethics.

Ch.4. Religious foundations of secular (worldly) Asceticism.

A. Calvinism

B. Pietism (close to Calvinism)

C. Methodists:

- John Wesley: Declaration of August 1771.
- A methodist follows a 'methodical' systematic pattern of life towards the target of the certainty of salvation.
- His feelings are toward conversion.
- M. had a strong emotional character ---> direct to mission.
- Belief in the non-merited grace: sacraments have no meaning
- Labour is not the "cause", it is only the way to know that you got grace; belief without doing well is meaningless.

- Work for a higher life (=second grace) is a surrogate for the predestination ---> call to 'conversion' ---> rational battle for perfection.

D. Baptists.

Ch.5. Asceticism and Spirit of Capitalism.

- W. takes as starting point English Puritanism, R. Baxter (English Pietism); P.J. Spener (German Pietism); R. Barclay (Quaker)
- Ideal Type of Puritanism.
 - Wealth is a danger.
 - Asceticism is against working for secular commodities, wealth.
 - To enjoy wealth is ethical reprehensible.
 - Labour is good; laziness is heavy sin.
 - God wants contemplation.
 - Labour is will of God ---> division of labour is good
---> productivity is rising.
- To what extent is the puritan conception of calling and asceticism promoting capitalistic life?
 - Asceticism reacts against the pleasures of life.
 - James I + Charles I react which Book of Sport against Puritans who wanted a Sunday without sport.
 - Distrust and hostility towards not-immediate religious parts of culture. Science is accepted.
 - Puritan was trustee of goods given by the grace of God; i.e. the ethical foundation of capitalism.
 - Asceticism is against unlimited consumption.
 - Production must be done just.
 - Wealth as aim is bad; as the fruit of professional labour it is the grace of God.
 - Perpetual, secular professional labour is highest instrument to attain asceticism.
 - Saving (Ascetic constraint) is means to make capital.

- Purest puritans: in rising strata. Belief in fact that God had given workers to capitalists.
- Rational way of life is born from the spirit of christian asceticism.

8) Criticism of P.E. ---> Spirit of Cap.

- A. W. made a mistake in the analysis of P.E. Analysis of Puritans and Franklin was not correct.
- B. Weber did not study Catholicism (also capitalism improving factors).
- C. Link between Puritanism and Capitalism is not clear.
 - Sources of Weber only from Baden, Anglo-Saxon countries.
 - Research in the Netherlands, Rhineland, Switzerland (16e + 17e cent.) do not give the association.
- D. Marxism criticises W.
- E. Typology made on base of book of prayers and rules.
- F. Only 1 variable investigated.
- G. Explanation comes from individual will.
- H. Sources are not always reliable.

B. METHODOLOGY

What is Sociology?

- Science which wants to come to interpreting understanding and by this to causal explanation.
- Action = human action (external and internal, to act, to omit (neglect), to permit) connected by subjective meaning.
- Social action: action connected by actors with action of others and oriented to this action.
- A. How to study this object?
 - Dilthey: human sciences have own object
 - Windelband: nomothetic - ideographic.
 - Rickert: natural - cultural sciences.

B. Sociology uses

- generalizing method:

qualitative differences are reduced to measurable quantities; they try to take away the contingent and unique aspects of reality.

- individualizing method:

study of qualitative, particular characteristics of a system.

C. W. rejects limitation to quantification. W. wants: critique, logical rationalisation, exact observation. W. refuses intuition.

D. Science is investigating what is + causes ---> laws + accidental happenings.

How does he see 'causes'?

- In generalizing method:

action-idea and idea of causality is rejected; it is a mathematical comparison between phenomena (subsumption under a general rule)

- In individualizing method:

dynamic between two qualitative differing phenomena; a phenomenon is unique.

Weber uses both.

For that reason he is looking for the "meaning" given by the actor

A. Actual

- 1) by one actor on a historical moment
- 2) by more actors on more moments.

B. Pure types

Sociology is not looking for the 'right' or metaphysically accounted 'true' meaning (at in law, logic, etc.).

E. Weber wants the 'evidence' of the meaning. Something might be evident because understanding

- 1) has a rational character (rational evident)
- 2) has an 'inituitive' character (Einfühlend evident)

Rational action can be interpreted with maximal evidence

- This is also the case for 'mistakes'.

- It is more difficult for particular 'purposes' and 'values', which determine very strongly action, but are not part of our experience.

Weber wants to know the purposes of people.

F. For this reason Weber uses 'interpretation' or 'verstehen'.

actual 'verstehen': understanding of what somebody thinks and is doing.

- - rational: of thoughts and actions
- irrational: of feelings, emotions.

explanatory 'verstehen': understand why (motives) somebody is doing something.

- rational
- irrational

All forms of understanding do not produce the same certainty.
(Intuition is not the best means)

G. What is causal explanation?

Two questions have to be investigated.

1. Is the social action 'meaningful' adequate?

One asks the question:

Is the action, that appears as a unity, according to our customs of thinking and feeling (of the actor himself or the audience) a meaningful unity?

I.e. is there a reasonable motive to make a particular action?

2. Is social action 'causal adequate'?

One makes the question:

Is there a chance that particular facts according to our experience are following each other?

Causal explanation means that the researcher may estimate (sometimes using figures) that a particular phenomena coincides with another phenomenon.

- 1) Right causal interpretation of a concrete action: a particular action can be seen as a continuity of facts and the motive for this is meaningful.
- 2) Right causal interpretation of a typical action.
- 3) Strong statistical relationship which is not meaningful adequate has no sociological meaning. Sociological rules are statistical and meaningful regularities.

H. How should the sociologist choose between a multitude of causal factors?

The base is "value orientation"; i.e. the frame of relevancies in which the investigated social action is situated.

≠ value judgement

≠ ethical value

VO - expands the horizon of the researcher

- helps to choose from a multitude of factors
- makes cooperation of researchers possible.

Role of VO:

- VO determines the selection of the object of research.
- VO permits to make a difference between the essential and the things of minor importance.
- VO gives arguments to see a relationship between different elements and their meaning.
- VO shows the causal relations and how far we have to research these relations.
- VO let disappear pure personal experiences and emotional impressions.

I. Research needs accurate concepts: ideal type

IT =

- mental construction of elements which may be present in concrete, individual phenomena, but which are in pure form seldom or never present.

- these elements are collected from a particular standpoint.
- IT gives the opportunity to describe well individual phenomena, and permit to interpret accurately what we want to investigate from the standpoint of a VO
- IT is not an ideal to be realised; it is an instrument.

J. IT are used to construct the 'objective possibility'.

- By this procedure social reality is reconstructed
 - ↳ some factors are isolated from the reality and we ask what should have happened if these factors should have had influence.
- This gives only a probabilistic causality.
- When the probability is high ---> adequate causality
- When the probability is low ---> accidental causality.

K. Value freedom of science.

- Researcher is not allowed to enforce values on the base of the prestige of science.
- Consequence for teaching:
 - teacher may not enforce personal values.
 - express facts.
 - difference between personal conviction/empirical observation.
- Consequence for research:
 - opinions have to be described as facts.
 - science may tell what we want or can do, never what we have to do.
- Verein für Sozialpolitik (1909) + Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie.
- Structural-cultural background of value-freedom
 - Position of professor/lecturer
 - Political values not permitted in universities
 - Dualism of Weber: rationality of bureaucracy and science (emotionality of charisma)

C. Basic concepts of sociology

A. What is social action ?

+ social action should be directed to others

- External action is not social:

- if this action is directed towards expectations towards objects.
- if action is purely internal.

B. Action is determined by 4 expectations:

1) instrumentally rational

- actor orients his action toward purposes, means and side effects
- purposes, means and side effects are rationally compared
- this action may not be emotional or traditional.

2) value-rational action

- this action has intrinsic values (e.g. action in function of moral, estetical or religious principles).

3) affectual action: emotional state of actor

4) traditional action:

- this action happens because it was always so.

Other categories:

1) community actions: all human action subjectively related to action of others

2) Societal action: community action into the extent that it is meaningful oriented to the expectations related to a particular order (rules)

These rules determine the purpose of the organisation, the sources, the services, sanctions, etc.

3) behaviour based on mutual consent

- no rules, no statutes; actors feel obliged to act in a particular way
- the duration can be different (short or long)

4) institutional behaviour:

- rules are coming from higher situated people; people is born in institution

5) group behaviour

- free membership of association

C. In types of social action different types of social relations:

- the chance that in a meaningful way is acted by many who are interconnected with others according to a meaning
- at least two actors
- social relations may be friendly or hostile
- this does not mean that there is solidarity between the actors.

D. Remarks on Weber.

- 1) Sharp description of concepts necessary for research
- 2) Action cannot be explained always without meaning
- 3) Sociological research needs an historical interpretation
- 4) Value orientation is important instrument
- 5) Weber relies too much on individual meaning
- 7) Group behaviour not enough analysed.

Chapter 2. E. DURKHEIM (1858 - 1917)

A. Research: Suicide (1897)

- Object of research: suicide = each death which is directly or indirectly the consequence of a positive or negative action of the victim self, and who knows that death will be the consequence of his act.

- Suicide is a collective act. Each people inclines toward a particular suicide behaviour.

- Suicide cannot be explained by the 'mean type' of Quételet. This should mean that in France each individual should have 150 chances on 1.000.000 to commit suicide.

Q. applies observations of some cases of Suicide to explain the suicide pattern of a population.

Chance to commit Suicide is not equally distributed in all individuals.

- Not-social Causes of Suicide.

1. Psycho-pathic situation of the population has no clear relation with suicide.

2. D. rejects race and heredity as a sufficient explanation for Suicide.

3. No correlation between suicide figures and climate and temperature.

Correlation between S. and month and length of days (social life is more busy).

4. D. does not accept that S. is influenced by imitation (geographical proximity, newspapers do not influence)

- How to explain S. ?

Different kinds of S. have different causes.

Ergo: if cause of S. is different ---> type of S. is different

Consequence: types of S. have to be defined on the base of consequences.

Method of D.:

- 1) social conditions of S. have to be searched;
- 2) classify conditions of S. on the base of similarities and differences;
- 3) consequence:
 - certainty about correspondence between S. type and classes of classification
 - this classification is aetiological, not only morphological.

Research of motives of S. is not reliable.

- Egoistic S.

The cause of E.S. is too strongly developed individualisation; the individual gets alienated from religion, family and community.

e.g. - Protestants commit more suicide than catholics

- high training ---> more S.
- bachelors ---> more S.
- chaos in political society ---> less S.

- Altruistic S.

Cause: insufficient individualisation of actor or when social integration is too strong.

- Historical statements:

1. S. of old men just before dying
 2. S. of widows (Hindu)
 3. S. of servant when king dies.
- = obligatory altruistic suicide

||

here ego is not his property; where the purpose of his action is one of the groups he is participating in.

+ more optional A.Z.

||

less obligatory; more the choice of the person (not accepted by christians)

+ acute suicide (mystical suicide)

||

happens when person believes that his soul is not his own (in partheism)

---> consequence: society is pantheistic organized (also christian martyrs)

- Statements of today: S. in army.

- Soldiers commit more Suicide than civilians (table XXIII)

- Strange phenomenon: - soldiers have good health

- 'esprit the corps'.

- Reasons of S. ?

- Not because they are bachelors/because: Soldiers commit more suicide than unmarried civilians (160 to 100) also non-commissioned officers (4x more S.) and officers (2,15x more S.).

- Not because of alcoholism because only 1/10th of S. is result of this.

- Not because they detest the army:

1) the longer they belong to the army (more adapted), the less suicide (see table p. 3.37)

2) higher S-rate of officers and non-commissioned officers, even when life is less hard for them.

3) professional soldiers commit more S. than drafted soldiers.

- Conclusion: cause of S. must be the typical character of military life.

What is typical military ?

- a certain state of impersonality indifference (soldier may not pay very much attention to his life; he has to learn to obey).

- ergo: principle of action for soldier is external to himself = altruism. That is why S-rate of non-commissioned officers is higher than that of officers.

- S. is higher for elite soldiers than for others.

B. Sociology and methodology.

1. Influences on Durkheim.

Rousseau: - volonté generale

- distinction psychol./social phenomena

Montesquieu: - object of sociology = social facts

Saint Simon and Comte

- division of labour is source of social solidarity

- consensus = conscience collective

- methodology

de Bonald/de Maistre

- necessity of authority

- meaning of religion, of family and local community

Fustel de Coulange

- relation of religion and society

F. Boutroux:

- different realities (against reductionism)

- emergency of social reality

Renouvier:

- morality must be investigated scientifically

- compatibility of natural determination and freedom

- attention for dignity and autonomy of individual + social cohesion which supports consensus of individual with others.

- justice is more important than utility

- state should make foundation of social justice

- defence of freedom of associations from state

- preference for secular, republican state school

- individual adapts to social solidarity

G. Tarde

- D. rejects theory of imitation

H. Spencer

- D. rejects individualism

- D. accepts evolutionism and functionalism

Robertson Smith

- Attention for social relations and institutions

German sociologists + Wundt

2. Sociology and methodology

A. Object of sociology

Social fact = action, thinking and feelings outside the individual, provided with enforcing power.

= organic and psychological phenomena.

- our ideas and inclinations are coming from outside the individual

- we are not always conscious of these constraints.

Social facts are:

conceptions	}	of the group
inclinations		
practices		

Criteria: pressure on me to act that way

Means for knowledge: statistic

B. How to observe social facts ?

1. Consider them as things

- Social facts are not reduced to lower forms of being

- D. demands the same value of reality as other things

- Social facts are not material things

- What is a thing ? What we know from outside; only knowledgeable by observation

- Rules:

1) reject systematically all prepositions

2) study only phenomena which are defined in advance by external, common characteristics and we have to study all these phenomena without exception

- daily concepts have function of indicator

- include pathological facts.

3) include all facts disconnected from their individual appearance.

2. Illustration: De la division

Social Solidarity is world phenomenon:

indicator (=symbol) of this is law

classify law to recognize solidarity

What is a legal phenomenon ? = a sanctioned rule of behavior

Sanctions might be soft or hard:

1) repressive sanctions in penal law

---> mechanic solidarity

2) restitutive sanctions in civil law and commercial law

---> organic solidarity

How to determine the influence of social solidarity on social integration of society ? By investigating the proportional distribution of the two types of law.

3. Theory of Ideology (Hirst)

A. Ideology precedes science

B. Ideology is a necessary part of the existence of the human being.

C. Ideology is a kind of experience by which people adapt their relationships to reality.

D. Ideology denies reality and denies priority of things on the ideas

Consequence: Ideology is hinder for science.

4. Is Durkheim a social realist ?

Sociological questions = what is the relation between individual and society ?

Ontological question = is society word or thing ?

D. is no substantialistic social realist: he sees society not as an ontological or substantial reality.

D. is no social nominalist.

D. is associational realist: group is qualitative different; collective consciousness is different from individual consciousness.

C. What is pathological and normal ?

1. Science must be useful ---> it has to say what is healthy or ill.

Normality is determined by a particular kind in a particular period of development.

- the general: the kind, sort has perpetuated because it was the best.

What about societies which did not attain the end of the development ?

- we do not know the laws which rule the totality: society is not developed totally yet.

- question: is fact general ?

If yes: regress to conditions which have determined the past and we have to check if the conditions are still the same

- if yes: situation is normal

- if no: situation is pathological.

- this is part of conservatism of D.:

- measure of policy are facts

- they try to keep normal

- against revolution.

2. Is suicide normal ?

A. - We do not know if suicide is present in every society.

- Always attention for suicide e.g. in law.

- Suicide is normal part of society.

This is the case of altruistic S. in a 'lower society'

- Individual is subordinate to society

---> A.S. is a procedure of collective discipline

This is also the case in the army.

- In a society man can be seen as a God ---> morality

means that man respects himself highly ---> man cannot accept a person superior to him ---> Egoistic Suicide.

- During the time the proportions individualism and altruism are changing and S. figures change as well.

Is this normal !

Attention: in ancient Rome there was a time of S. and then no S. Nevertheless: Roman civilisation survived.

- Conclusion: S. may come from sick situation of our society, i.e. the fast development of arts and sciences.

- High S. rate is correlated with ill situation of society in fast development.

- High S. rate is consequence of spirit of pessimism.

B. What should be done against abnormal behavior ?

- Shall come a better education? Impossible because society is ill.

- No problem for A.S. (not ill); it is for egoistic and anomic S.

- E.S. can be made disappearing by more integration of society. For this reason they do not use:

- political society

- religious groups

- the family.

- Problem should be solved through professional groups

- > organic solidarity.

D. Social types.

Social sort, kind or social type is position between

- nominalism (unicity of historical moment)

- realism (all special groups called nations, cities, are contingent and tentative combinations without own reality; only mankind is real.

Social types are something in between.

How to construct social types ?

We cannot study all societies. We study parts of it and look for the essentials. They need kind of insight in the facts to give an explanation. D. looks for the different parts which are more

simple parts of society. We have to look for the most singular society. We look for the simple not-composed society: this society cannot be reduced to another (the horde or clan).

- 1) simple polysegmental society
- 2) simple composed polysegmental society
- 3) double composed polysegmental society

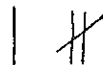
E. The explanation of social facts.

1) To explain is not the same as to tell, what the utility is of a phenomena.

- Why a Hindu woman commit suicide is not the same as to tell the utility of her death.
- Some phenomena do not disappear even when they are not useful.

2) Conclusion:

- We have to look for efficient causes
- + function of phenomenon.

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purpose or aim,

the reason that we speak about function is that social facts do not exist because of useful results (e.g. family).

- Family might have many functions, but is not cause of family.
- Relation cause-consequence is reciprocal. No cause without a consequence and vice versa.
- + we have to look for function i.e. the social needs fulfilled by the social organism.
- Comte and Spencer were wrong.

|
finalist |
psychological

- Society is not sum of individuals; it is specific: a unique reality. Collective behavior needs individual consciousness, but this is not sufficient. Groups are psychical, but not on the individual level.

Conclusion

- Cause of social facts have to be looked far in social facts.

- Function of social fact can be found in the relations of the social fact with a particular social purpose.
- Consequently: a sociologist should search for the components of an internal social environment.

What is composing this social environment ?

- Things, i.e. they are material and have no living power (products of law, literature, e.g.)
- People
 - volume of society = amount of social units = material density, i.e. not only the number of persons per area-unit, but the development of relations and communications network.
 - dynamic density (moral density = extent that people are interconnected) = rate of concentration of mass.
- Study present and past
- Chronological succession is not an explanation.

H. The argumentation.

How to explain causality ?

Compare the cases in which a social fact present or absent on the same moment; make clear that a particular fact is dependant from another.

Two methods:

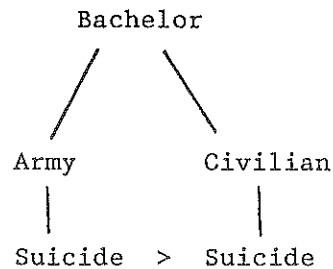
- the experiment in the strict sense.
- the indirect experiment or the comparative method;

Rule: one consequence has one cause.

Method of correlated variables:

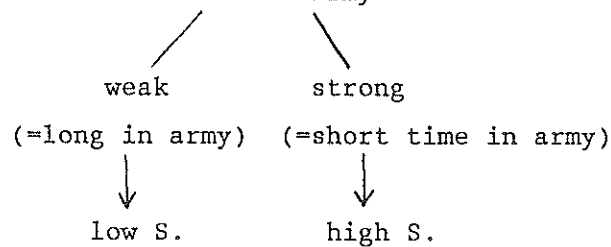
- Look if a variable goes together with another e.g.
 - Suicide of soldiers in France goes together with lower suicide rates of civilians (table XXIII).
 - This is also in Prussia, Saxony, Wurtemberg, etc. This means that there is a relation between the fact to belong to the army and Suicide in France, Prussia, etc.

- The cause for this is internal: the own moral density of the army explains S. (not the individual will of a soldier).
- Continuously going together of membership of the army in different countries refers to law (problem of Denmark)
- It is possible that a fact is the consequence of another cause than the originally perceived cause (spurious relationship)
e.g. - Is bachelorship cause ?



- Is reluctance of army cause ?

Hypotheses: Reluctance of army



statement

high S. low S.

- How is argumentation constructed?
 - By using deduction investigate how 1 of two variables is influencing the other: e.g. if soldiers are made indifferent, than that is much chance to commit S.
 - Afterwards we check if the deduction is true e.g. are soldiers trained to indifference and is Suicide connected with the behavior of soldiers.
 - We have to collect many facts.

- We look for facts in:
 - sources
 - observation
 - ethnographic material
 - historical material
- Do not select facts
- Look for facts in
 - 1) one society
 - 2) different societies of same kind
 - 3) different societies of different kinds.

1. One society

- This learns something about a social fact when it appears differently in the same society
- But if an institution, a juridical and moral rule, an organized use is the same for the total society and only differs in time (historically), than we should not limit ourselves to the study of one society.

2. Different societies of the same kind

- We can compare people and history e.g. S. in France, Germany, etc.

3. Different societies of different kind

- We compare different kinds of society and different historical moments e.g. S. in India, Gallic people, in France, etc.
- Sociology is comparative sociology
- Compare society of particular kind with society of other kind on same moment.
- If we want to know evolution we have to return to origin of each kind.
- This makes it possible to speak about progress or regression, on stabilisation.

3. Functionalism of Durkheim.

- Many concepts of functionalism. Pierce gives 12 definition
 - Pierce: sociologism of D. makes functionalism of D. impossible. Societies do not change under the influence of individual will and social needs; Society is not individual. Modern functionalism is interested in means of continuous or unconscious individualism
 - D. looks to causes instead of social utility.
 - D. sees function as connection between social fact and general needs of social organism.
- Pierce: social totality influences social totality.

4. Durkheim: integrationism.

- Sociology should contribute to good of society - Third Republic.
- D. venerates the state ---> no analysis of power and authority in state.
- D. wants secular morality.
- D. considers society and state as same.
- D. has no attention for classes and rejects internationalism.
- D. sees general as normal; exception: division of labour.
- D. did not see that power is coming of particular stratum.
- Religion is considered to be unified power. This is not true.
- D. is conservative sociologist.
 - adapt society to new conditions
 - no class struggle
 - against disorganisation
 - for moral rules.
- D. had socialist sympathies
 - was against proletarian revolution, doctrine of economic materialism, marxist theories of value; iron wage law.
 - was reformist
 - was against action.

C. Influence of Durkheim:

- Resistance from Tarde, Worms, Le Play.
- D. had national meaning ---> French Sociological School
- D. had a little influence on philosophy.

D. Remarks.

- 1) D. stresses objectivity, anti-ideology
- 2) Argumentation and causality
- 3) Specificity of social fact: emergency. Soc. facts cannot be approached from inside ---> danger for overdetermination by social reality.
- 4) Anti-ideology creates other ideology: science becomes holy and is base of morality.

Chapter 3. FUNCTIONALISM

1. Functionalism in Sociology.

- Thirties sociology became important
- Social influences
- A. Comte: society is organic system with analogue structure and functions as biological organism
- H. Spencer: structures have functions
- V. Pareto: society = system looking for equilibrium
- E. Durkheim connection between social facts and general needs of society.
- B. Malinowski, A.R. Radcliff Brown: everything has a function.

2. Concepts

- Functional analysis: social phenomenon is explained by consequences e.g. family, state, church, etc. is explained by continuity of society.
- Actual functioning
- Function ≠ purpose
- Dysfunctions = objectively perceivable consequences which hinder the integration of the system.
- Manifest function: objectively perceivable consequences ... intended and recognized by the members of the system.
- Latent functions: objectively perceivable consequences - not intended and not recognized.
- Structure = empirically observable social pattern characterized by a uniformity in their consequences.
- System = interdependent functioning structures.
- Society is a social system characterized by differentiation and integration.
- Society should perform some functions to be integrated:
 - functional prerequisites: needs which should be fulfilled (what to do ?)
 - structural prerequisites: structure needed to fulfill the functional prerequisites (how to do ?)

3. Research.

1. Merton: Patterns of interpersonal influence of communication behaviour. Magazine wants to know if it is read by influentials in area.

Questions: - who were the influentials ?
- how do they use the magazine ?
- is it different from the way the common person is using it ?

Practical question: How do we know influential ?

New question: what types of influentials ?

Research: - in Rovere with 68 persons
- question: who do you consult ?
- 75 persons were nominated more than 3x
- 30 were interviewed.

Results:

- two types: - local influentials
 - cosmopolitan
- local influentials:
 - born in Rovere
 - contact with many personal acquaintances and associations.
 - slow construction of image
 - sympathetic support, help.
- cosmopolitan influentials:
 - immigrant
 - contact with right people
 - contact with useful organisations
 - fast construction of image
 - professional help.
- both types select media because they fulfill special function:
 - cosmopolitan : ---> Time
 - > international news in papers
 - local: attention for criminality and local happenings.

- Merton wanted to show that the analysis of the use of media goes together with study of social context of interpersonal relations.

2. Parsons: industrial society

- I.S. needs a specific cultural pattern internalized in the personality.
- A value-commitment is growing
- Government (political organisation) has to evade extreme interventionism and extreme liberalism.
- I.S. needs an institutional frame

- └-->
- legal institutions
 - political institutions
 - economical institutions

- Political and Economic institutions fulfill 4 functional prerequisites:

Fig. 1. The subsystems of the economic and political complex

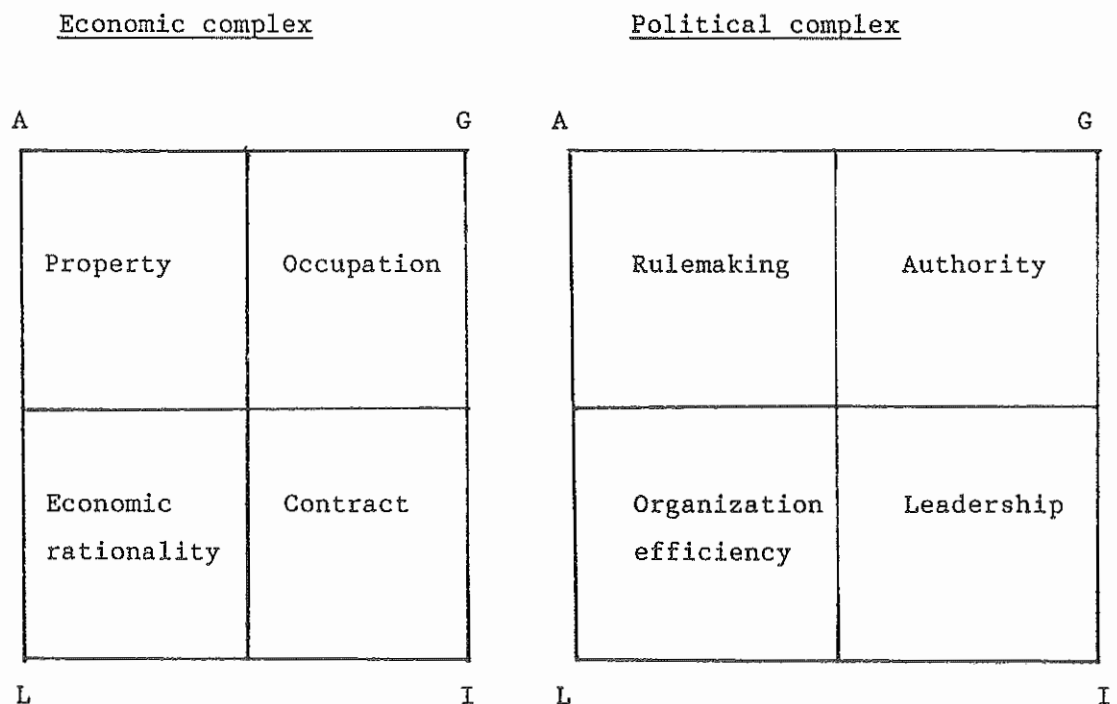
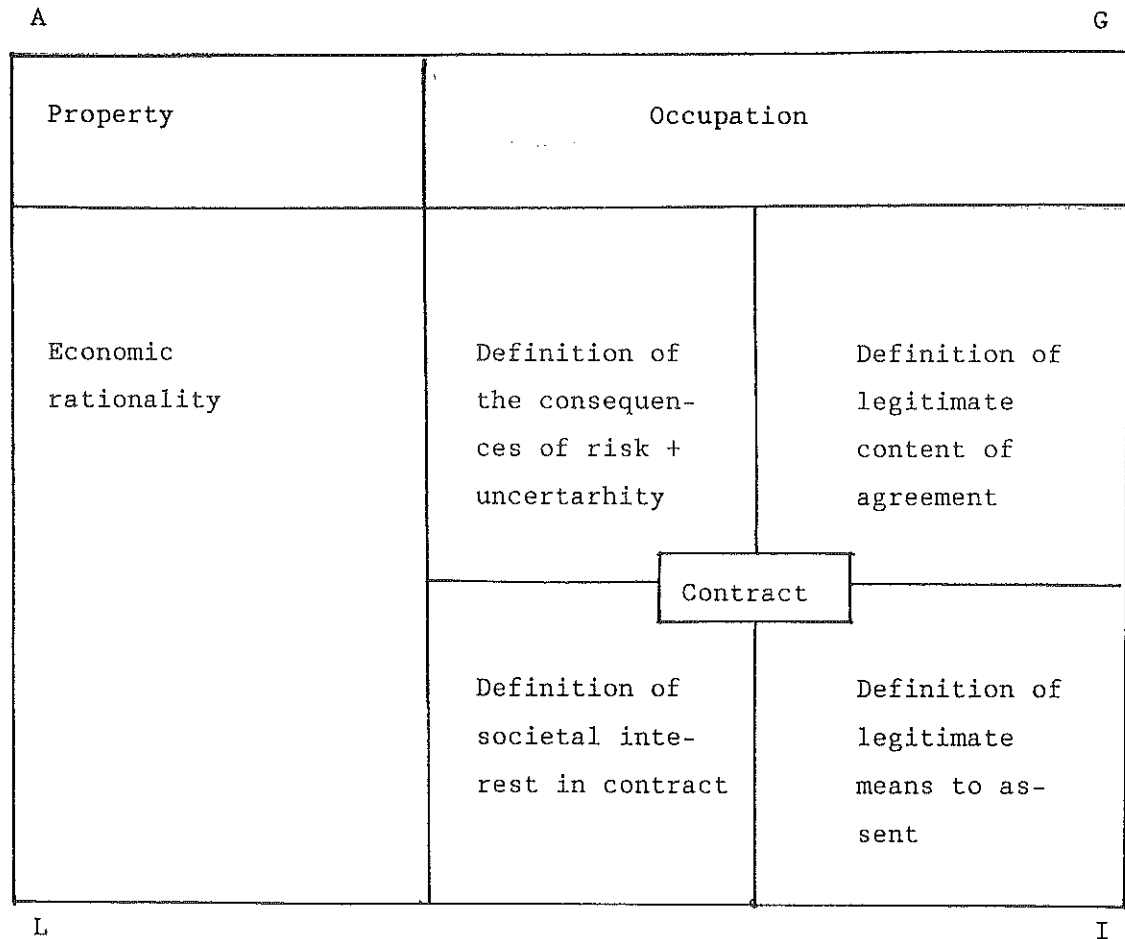


Fig. 2. The subsystems of the 'contract' in the economic complex



4. Merton's model.

1. Criticism of three postulates of functional analysis

A. All social activities and cultural phenomena are functional for the total social system: postulate of functional unity.

Reaction: something is functional for one group and dysfunctional for another.

B. Postulate of functional universality = all social-cultural phenomena are functional for social system.

Reaction: - socio-cultural phenomena may be dysfunctional

- look for 'net balance of functional consequences'

C. Postulate of indispensibility: each phenomenon is indispensable part of totality.

Reaction: functional alternatives.

2. Paradigma of functional analysis. Paradigma is protocol for research and theory construction.

1. Clear description of items.
2. Subjective dispositions (motives, inventions, purposes) of involved individuals.
3. Manifest and latent functions + dysfunction.
4. Confine unity in which functional analysis is made.
5. Functional prerequisites
6. Social mechanisms
7. Functional alternatives
8. Functional alternatives find confinement in structural context
9. Social change
10. Validity of analysis
11. Has hypothesis ideological role ?

3. Theories of the middle range

- Socio-cultural phenomena should be explained from the functions of investigated phenomena for other social phenomena to which structure it belongs.
- T of MR (role theory, relative deprivation)
 - low level of abstraction
 - close to observed reality
 - it is no hypothesis
 - also used in other sciences
 - defended by other sociologist
 - theory and research become close.

5. System theoretical functionalism of Parsons.

1. Parsons' theory of social action

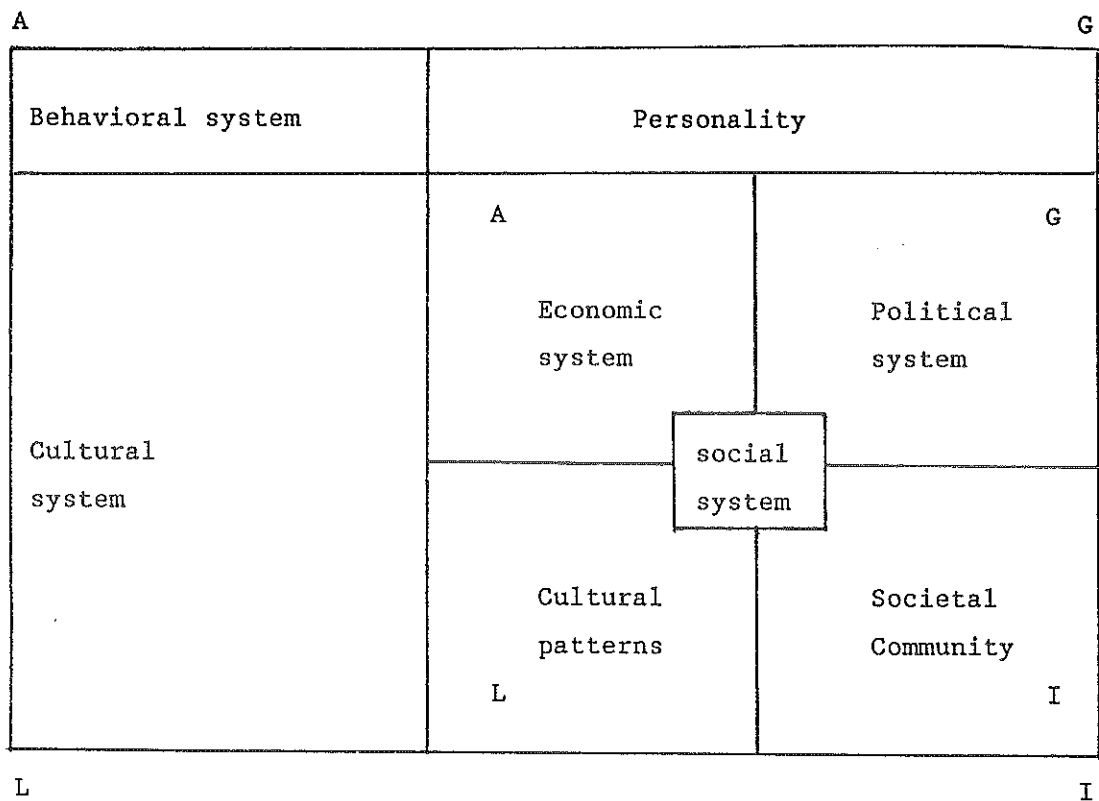
- Structural elements are: purposes, means, conditions, norms.
- Values and norms are not realized automatically, but suppose will (voluntarism)
- Unit act does not appear isolated; there are 'action systems'
= objects of action theory.

- Systems of action are emergent.
 - Action means a relation between actor and situation.
 - Actor intends need satisfaction (motivation)
 - This means a choice of purposes and means
 - Here is normative orientation
 - Social aspect: role concept (role expectancies, sanctions)
 - Kinds of systems of action (every action is a relation between four systems of actions)
 - B.S.
 - P.S.
 - S.S.
 - C.S.
 - Social system is connected with cultural system by process of institutionalisation
- Cultural system penetrates within P.S. - ??? internalisation.

2. Pattern variables and functional paradigm. How is society as ordered complexity of actions possible ?

- Structure = relative stable or continuous elements recognizable in system of action.
- Function = tells how elements of structure are interconnected to guarantee the survival of the system of action.
- Elements of structure: 5 pattern variables
- Functional prerequisites:

Fig. 3. Subsystems of the general actionsystem and the social system



3. Cybernetic hierarchy of controle and exchange of means.

- '50: criticism on structural functionalism
- Option for biological cybernetic - model (homeostatis)
- Cybernetic hierarchy
- Hierarchy of conditions
- Interchange paradigm. Every subsystem has relationship of exchange with other subsystemd.

Fig. 4. Subsystems of action.

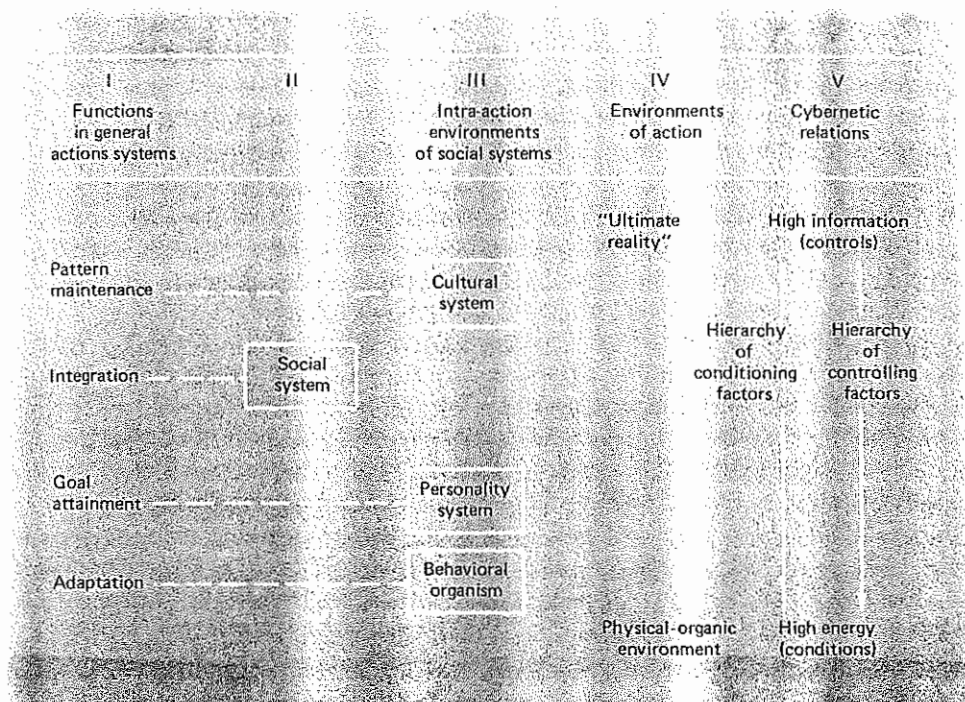
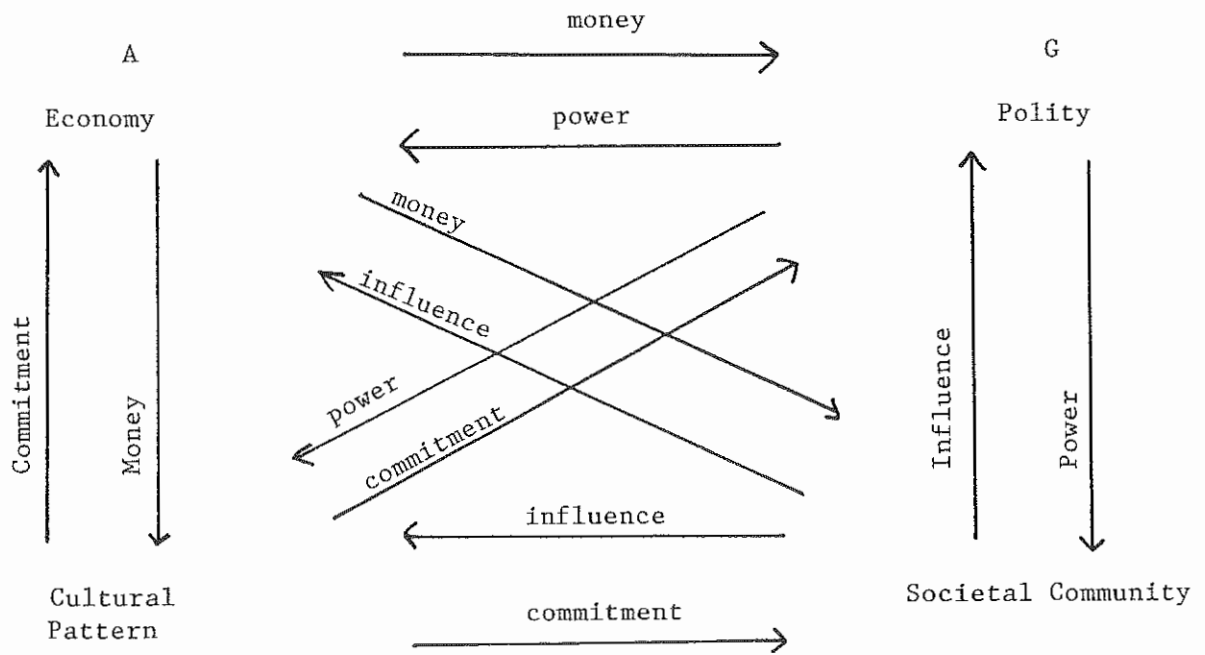


Fig. 5. The interchange media of the social systems.



6. Reflections:

- Growth since 30 years.
- Criticism since '50.
- Different criticism:

1) Logical remarks:

- F. is going in direction of teleological explanation: the existence of social phenomena is caused by the positive consequences.
- Society is seen as entity with aims, just like the individual.
- Circulus vitiosus:
Social phenomenon exists because it is contributing to the protection of social structures of which it is a part. Social structures are conserved because social phenomena fulfill fundamental need for survival of structure.
- F. is abstract theory (C.W. Mills)

2) Remarks in relation to content.

- F. produces oversocialized man (Wrong, Homans).
- Reaction: P. pays attention to individual

3) Remarks in relation to ideology.

- F. does not pay enough attention to power, authority and social changes.
- Reaction: - power and authority are studied
- social change less, but present.

Chapter 4. Critical Sociology

A. Schmidt + Becker

Spiegel Affäre 1962

Direction: Adorno + von Friedenburg.

1. Facts.

- 26 Oct. 1962: publisher and editor of Der Spiegel in jail because of treason (Nato manoeuvre)
- Constitutional rights denied
- D.S. could not be published any more.
- Debate in Bundestag.
- Consequence:
 - Protest of students for freedom of press
 - Constitution is not enough to protect freedom of press
 - Reaction against unreasonable action of state.
- Supreme Court disagrees with Government.
- Papers decide: Germany is real democracy.
- Researchers: Is this true ? Are civilians reacting against authoritarian politician?
- 600 pers. were questioned in Frankfurt in Nov. 1962.

2. Results

- 95% have heard about S.A. and 1/4 know the problem very well.
- 3/4 is not happy with problem.
- 13% justify government.
- 55% criticize government.
- Police-methods are not rationally argumented.
- Political conscious part of society is small:
 - S.A. threatens democracy: 37%
 - S.A. does not threaten democracy: 38%.
- S.A show that freedom of press is threatened, when interests of state are threatened.

oder machen keine Angaben	10	
	100	
halten die Demokratie		
für gefährdet	30	
davon wegen:		
Verstoßen gegen		
die Grundrechte		38
nicht gefährdet	44	
davon:		
Landesverrat rechtfertigt		
das Vorgehen		18
sind unentschieden, wissen es nicht		
oder machen keine Angaben	26	
	100	
halten die Maßnahmen der		
zuständigen Stellen		
für richtig	20	
davon:		
Landesverrat rechtfertigt		
das Vorgehen		43
für nicht richtig	44	
davon:		
Maßnahmen		
waren ungesetzlich		43
sind unentschieden, wissen es nicht		
oder machen keine Angaben	36	
	100	

Problem is: will people react when freedom of press is threatened.

Germans accept censorship; certainly in time of crisis (Cuba-affaire).

Trained workers are less critical:

- this depends on the labour position - they understand less the political structure.
- They see the connection between political happenings and global political structure less.
- Politics escape from workers (alienation).
- Freedom of press is for workers an abstract privilege of scholars.

3. Interpretation:

- objective cause of political apathy = mass media.
- Workers cannot understand this easily because inequality in education. The reason is class differences ---> not always accepted.
- Information depends on leisure time and culture industry.
- They believe in global social integration.
- Political consciousness (= rational, structured coordination of convictions) is historical - social defined.
- Political consciousness is at the base of a reasonable organisation and this goes together with the pursuit of emancipation of the bourgeoisie.

└---> i.e. the rationalisation of power instead of absolutism.

Emancipation is: democracy, general elections

i.e. a reasoning audience is defending the interests of the bourgeoisie (private property).

Consequence: bourgeois interests = general interests.

 / This is true and false.

True: democracy supposes publicity

False: class-opposition did not disappear and then there was no public forum.

- Historical development of Germany makes self-reflection impossible.

Participation by workers in power of state was fiction: no education, no political knowledge + no knowledge about own interests.

- Public opinion is commercialized and makes self-reflection impossible.

- Political messages are split up in small part.

- Parties and pressure group are instruments of party rulers, not of people ---> apathy of people.

- Consequence: people is not able to judge any more.

B. What is critical theory ? (Horkheimer)

1) What is classical theory ?

- testing
- mathematical relations
- empirical
- induction
- general, holistic theory is not possible yet.

2) Science is result of capitalist structure

- object of study is historically situated
- historical position of observer
- critical theory is result of society
- critical theory is directed policy: it will criticize order.
- C.T. asks questions
- C.T. does not accept power structure
- C.T. not utopia.
- C.T. wants society without injustice. We find this in behavior of proletariat
- C.T. in every change there is something identical; the past is still present.

- C.T. wants to link theory and praxis: what people want is necessary (freedom)
- C.T.: past - today - future.
- C.T.: to know if a theory is correct we have to see that the theory becomes true.

C. Value of empirical research ? (Adorno)

- 1) Empirical sociology has high prestige because it is useful.
Empirical methods are not objective.
Questionnaires do not give structure of society: (cfr. opinion research)
- 2) Method of physics cannot be applied on social reality.
Unfree method of positive sciences gives picture of unfree world.
Danger: we see the world as nothing else than the world made by us.
No absolute opposition between quantitative and qualitative methods.
Society should be studied dialectally; not inductive or deductive
---> tells only what is, i.e. ideology (supports what is).
- 3) Partial observations may not be generalized, because society is not homogeneous
 - full of contradiction
 - rational - irrational
 - system/split
 - totality + individualsEmpirical research sees man as atom; counts individuals.
We should study people in social context.
- 4) Empirical research may be used to test sensefulness of theory.
- 5) Empirical research is not objective. We need indirect methods to look behind the front.
Empirical research is a protection against myth construction.
Is value-freedom possible ?
No. Sociology should realize a just society, it has to be critical.

D. Habermas and the fight between the methods.

a. The researcher belongs to research object and these has some influence on particular relations:

1) relation theory - object:

- sociologist belongs to object.
- consequence: we can not approach object as scientist.
- facts of sociologist are structured by social totality.
- no hypothetico - deductive method: we have to work hermeneutically.

2) relation theory - experience:

- analytical empirical approach is looking for observations which can be repeated (intersubjectivity).
- C.T. wants pre-scientific experience (not subjective) which is not variable.
- > study society as a totality
- > experiment is not sufficient method to study totality.

3) relation theory - history:

- A.E sees history as natural science (testing general laws)
- C.T. tells that singular facts are dependant from social totality.

Consequence:

K.T. we have to understand facts \neq subjective hermeneutics.

i.e. we should look to the concept coming out of the things selves; these concepts are telling how the society may be used we can confront with what society is.

How ? We rely on history: history opens future for sociologist. e.g. in 'publicity-concept' I see what society is not and what it will be.

4) relation theory - praxis:

We have to understand the practical purposes of the historical total-analysis in their objective coordination and this makes praxis possible.

In E.A. there is only selection of some problems. This does not permit solution of problem.

e.g. Problem of loosing publicity:

If this analysis contributes making people aware of the problem, than is this theory true.

Consequence: value-freedom of historical and theoretical research is impossible.

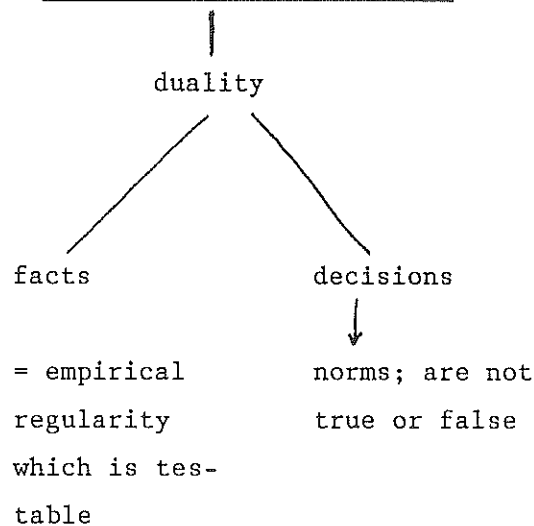
C.T. has emancipatory knowledge interest.

E.A. has technical-cognitive interest.

Historical-hermeneutical sciences have practical interest.

B. Can we do sociology value free ?

a) E.A. formulate postulate of value-freedom



Consequence: division between knowledge/evaluation.

b) In E.A.: knowledge is plain empirical knowledge.

Consequence: problems of praxis of life should not be part of science.

Popper: Praxis should be done on the base of 'belief in intellect'. We should apply laws of social life to make policy.

This is rational belief in the opinion of Habermas.

c) Criticism of Habermas on Popper.

- Hypotheses (theoretical propositions) are not testable by experience; they are by other propositions (we suppose a link between reality and proposition).
- Use of falsification by Popper does not solve the problem because: there is always the problem of the link between proposition and experience.
- According to Popper falsification is possible because there is a consensus about observation sentences which is tentative and can be denied.
- Habermas says 'to handle a law we must have a common concept about facts'.
e.g. general law: everywhere is social stratification, where propriety gets a positive evaluation. This law may be applied on the basis that we consent about the facts. This is only possible on the base of hermeneutical explicitation.
- This consensus becomes clear in research act; we anticipate reality; it is a global anticipation also applied by E.A.
- Cfr. labour: people have consensus in labour. Here description and normative acts together.

d) Program instead of prognoses.

- Prognoses suppose:
 - knowledge of situation
 - alternative means
 - hypothetical purposes.

According to E.A. only in last point is value judgement.

- Social reality supposes interlinkage of everything.
Consequence: practical questions cannot be answered with value-free means. We choose for program.

Remarks.

- 1) dialectic personality - totality is important
- 2) hermeneutics important instrument
- 3) historical situation of actor
- 4) researcher in social context
- 5) effect on objectivity: researcher is too powerful
- 6) theory as praxis is difficult to protect
- 7) methods not clear enough
- 8) attention for conflict.

Chapter 5. RADICAL SOCIOLOGY

Introduction

1. Radical Sociology in U.S.A.

1) Characteristics of radical sociology

- R.S. is reaction against 'corporate sociology'



abstract empiricism
comprehensive theory.

- R.S. wants to understand society
 - against concept fetishism and determined methods.
 - object: - structure of society
 - mechanism of change
 - human types.
- R.S. defends scepticism: do not accept on the base of belief and authority: always test.
- R.S. rejects value-freedom ---> social critic ---> they want to feel as repressed and make them conscious.

2) Types of R.S.

1) participatory radicalism

- help to the suppressed by educational programs and planning
- against academic research

2) cultural radicalism

- identification with 'underdog'
- defend the unusual

3) object- linked radicalism

- study conventionally revolutions, racism, imperialism

4) philosophical radicalism

- marxism, humanism

3) Historical background of R.S.

- Thorstein Veblen.
 - capitalism is a threat for society ---> savage stage.
- R.S. Lynd.
- C.W. Mills
- 1960: growth of R.S.
 - because of - Bay of Pigs
 - military + industrial power
 - military interventions in South America + Asia
 - end of 'War on Poverty'.
- 1962: Students for a democratic society
 - Murder of M.L. King
- 1969: Union of Radical Sociologists.
- R.S. want political engagement
 - critical science
 - theory and praxis
- R.S. influenced Verstehen + Ethnomethodology.

2. Sociology of C.W. Mills

- 'plain marxist', but criticising marxist sociology
- > against economic determinism and dialectics.

1. The Power Elite

a) Story

P.E. = political + economic + military circles, which take decisions of rational importance

Three points should be studied:

1) What is the psychology of different elites in their environment + social mix.

Psychological and Social base of their unity can be found in common social background + education, equal career + life style.

Interchange between M, E and P. groups is possible.

2) What are structure and mechanisms of this institutional hierarchy ? The greater the bureaucratic support of the

elite, the bigger their power. But: P, M + E. elite cooperate more and more.

3) Unity of P.E. is not total and continuous there is no result of a clear expression of will.

- But institutional mechanisms created a situation which caused cooperation and they saw that cooperation influenced possibility to fulfill different interests.

- Method

- historical + actual material about

- elite of 'local society'

- the metropolitan 400

- the celebrities

+ three elites.

- Elite

1) Economic elite

a) very rich (275 richest people)

american born, city-bred, eastern, protestant

b) the chief-executives

a) + b) = corporate rich

2) Military elite = generals

- until 1898: small national army

- after W.W.II big professional army

- generals become ambassadors.

3) Political elite

a) party men

b) political professional

c) political outsider

Consequence: - there is no 'balance of power'.

- theory of balance of power can only explain temporary political parties: it is only applicable in short periods.

- we have to study more causes

- analysis of power was limited to middle level of power (Congress).

History of elite:

- 1) 1776-1824: no big distance between P, E + M elite
- 2) 1824-1866:
 - some relations between P, M, E elite
 - no small groups of powerful people
 - economic order determines political and social status
- 3) 1866-W.O.I:
 - period of societal economic power
 - bribery of judges + Congress
 - M under P, P under E.
- 4) WWI-WWII:
 - P threatens E elite
 - E elite tries to intrude in P E through New Deal
 - struggle between small - big proprietors
 - struggle between organized workers - unorganized unemployed.
- 5) WWII:
 - period of formal political democracy
 - E elite dominates P elite
 - M leaders have P decision power
 - American capitalism = military, capitalism ---> politician on background; i.e. only possible in crisis.

Who is Power elite ?

- top layers (1/3 highest part of income occupational pyramid); American bred, eastern, protestant, high education.
- policy of them is determined by political situation, labor structure = social background.
- related to each other in daily life
- they have a certain class consciousness
- they have a feeling of honor (same education)
- they identify themselves with power elite
- they are no club with formal membership
- move easily from one sector to another (cooperated during WWII)
- top elite in 3 sectors, or law firms or investment groups.

- Present-day politics can only be explained by P.E.
- this is not conspiracy
- influence of P.E., on American society determined by a structure of American society.
- 1) no pure 'community of publics':
 - a) virtually as many people express their opinion as receiving an opinion
 - b) public communication is so organised that all expressed opinions can be answered
 - c) those opinions react also against the ruling values
 - d) authoritarian structures do not intrude in the public
- 2) no pure mass-society:
 - a) less people express an opinion than accepting one
 - b) organisation of communication hinders that people express opinion
 - c) power bodies control opinions + channels to express opinion
 - d) mass is controlled by power agents.
- U.S.A. is more mass society ---> publics are media markets.
Mass organisations ---> few critical citizens; education makes not critical
- U.S.A. is conservative country without a conservative ideology
 - belief in liberalism
 - no elite
- > support to elite.

B. Critique

1. Conservative

- 1) Dahl: P.E. is hypothesis
- 2) Kornhauser: - what is the resistance against P.E.?
 - has power social consequences?
- 3) Wrong: - why does P.E. come to collective decision?
- 4) Parsons: - not enough facts
 - P+E system are not strongly connected; M+E power may not be exaggerated.

2. Radical critique

- not enough about capitalism
- not enough attention for power and upperclass
- elite theory, no class theory
- no attention for blacks.

3. The Sociological Imagination

a) Content

1) Purpose

- meaning of social sciences for cultural tasks
- sociological imagination
 - helps to understand important history from internal experience and external action of people
- show that people have false consciousness of their social position.

2) Picture of A. sociology ?

a) grand theory of T. Parsons

b) reality disconnected empiricism (Lazarsfeld)

- against quantification
- anti-psychologism

c) research is moral and political action

---> they wanted to solve problems on base of liberalism

---> all facts considered to be equal

---> impossible to catch social reality; only the ideas of middle class are observable.

d) no progressive pragmatism, now, only social services for welfare

---> social research in bureaucratic organisations

---> research in function of powerful people

---> education for research technicians

3) Mill's conception.

- Object of sociology: study human kind which is part of all human worlds; the present, the past and the future

- Sociology should cooperate with other social sciences:
 - should be comparative
 - should study historical sociology
 - 1. history provides insight in human society
 - 2. influence (reflexive) between small environments and big structure (we can see in social reality)
 - 3. comparison of communist and capitalist economics must be seen in historical context
 - 4. study of one part of society should be historical
- Sociology should be social psychological.
 - internal characteristics of persons have social pattern and are socially founded
 - study of (unconscious) motives in large structures
- Sociology should support freedom of people ---> sociology has a political function
- Sociologists can act as
 - philosopher king
 - adviser of the king
 - adviser of king and of audience.

b) critique

1. M. supports a program: verification
2. Shills agrees on
 - 1) bureaucratisation of intellectual life
 - 2) put facts in social context
 - 3) sociology needed for information.
3. Shills wants
 - 1) samples are necessary
 - 2) empathy is necessary
4. Mills is not clear enough about bureaucratic research structure
5. Mills is historicist
6. Sociological imagination is very vague.

Chapter 6. EXCHANGE THEORY

- Social behaviour is reduced to social exchange.
- Idea was present in the period of free trade.
 - H. Spencer: individual exchange
 - J. Fraser: study of family relations on the base of exchange.
- Malinowski: difference economic exchange/social exchange.
- M. Mauss (1925): exchange between groups and their representations.
(person = position, role).
- C. Lévi-Strauss: structuralist approach.
- G. Homans (P. Blau).

§1. WOLF, M.M., e.a. experiments with token reinforcement in a remedial classroom

1. Purpose of research

- Learning behaviour of slowly learning children has to be improved with help of 'token economics'.

2. Field

- Pupils of 5th and 6th grade of power, urban neighborhood brought together in a remedial class.

3. Research.

- a) -Pupils: 16 pupils with a retardation of 2 years for reading.
 - Every 6 weeks 5 pupils taken in program.
- b) Token reinforcement system.
 - When pupils made progress they received points; more points were granted when the level to improve was harder.
 - Points were written on 4 different coloured papers; each of them could be used to buy services.
 - e.g. blue paper: to go to circus, zoo, movies.
 - green paper: to buy fruit, milk, etc.

- Points were exchanged for money.

c) Process.

- Pupils came everyday to school to have 2,5 h class (after normal school time).
- Guidance: one headteacher + 2 assistants.

4. Experiment.

- Problem:

Does the rewarding system influence the study behaviour for reading, English, mathematics.

- Field:

11 pupils followed during 47 sessions.

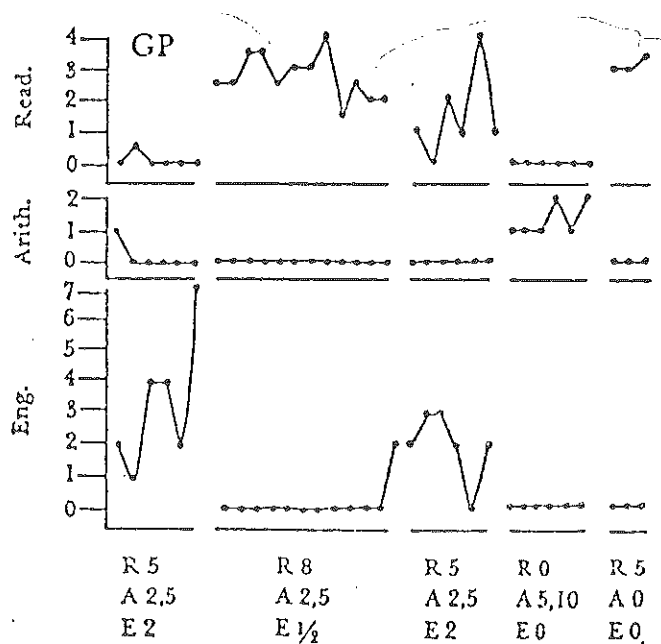
- Procedure:

In one session pupils had to solve problems for reading, English and mathematics. After a few sessions teachers changed the amount of points a pupil could earn doing a task. The purpose was to stimulate pupils for a particular subject.

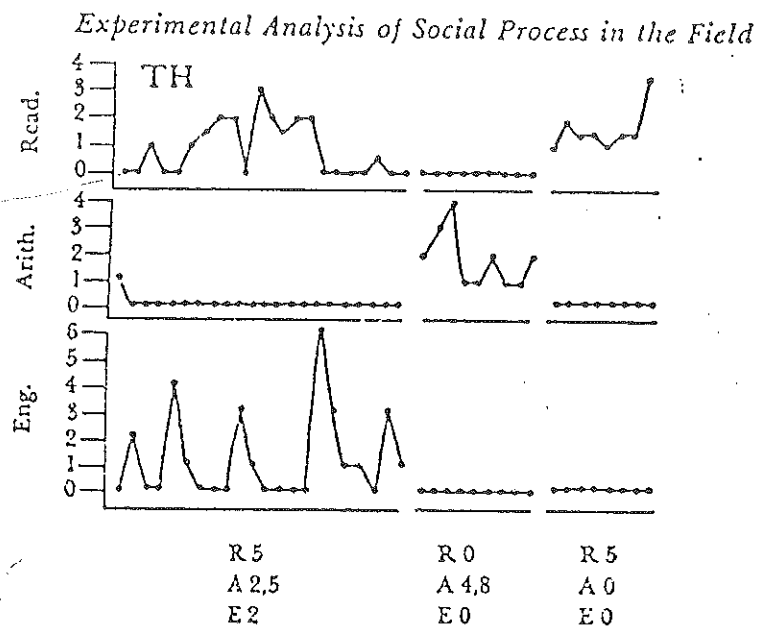
- Results:

Two types

Type I (GP): these pupils (4) were used to work for one subject.



Type II (TH): these pupils (7) were used to work for two subjects.



- Conclusion:

Change of grading system changed learning behaviour of pupils.

If the amount of points was 0, pupils stop to study.

5. Other improvement programs:

- Teachers were also rewarded.

- Teacher in normal school could also grade.

6. Conclusion:

- Remedial work is meaningful: retardation of 2 year for reading, decreased with 1,5 year.
- Good behaviour of pupils improved behaviour of other pupils.
- Cost of program is low, advantage for society is high.

§2. Exchange theory of Homans.

a) Historical start.

- Political thinkers (Hobbes, Rousseau, Locke) saw society as contract between persons and abstract government. De facto it was not present.
- Industrial revolution: period of all competition
---> individual point of exchange process. Also in theory of evolution.
- Collectivistic reaction against individualism (1937-1950):
---> structuralism, functionalism.
- Homans returns to individualism taking B.F. Skinner as his guide: individual behaviour may be controled and foreseen by changing the environment; this environment is made of things rewarding or punishing persons = hedonistic thinking.

b) What is social behaviour ?

1. Social behaviour ?

- = activity of at least two animals, and one its rewarding or punishing the other.
- > Human and animal behaviour are very likely.

- Elementary social behaviour consists of:

- 1) behaviour must be social, i.e. a person is rewarded or punished by the behaviour of the other person (probably by non-human environment).
- 2) If person A act a particular way, he has to be punished or rewarded by person B.
- 3) This is behaviour, not a norm.

Using behavioural psychology of animals to do sociology of human behaviour.

Human and animal behaviour only have a difference of grade.

- Social behaviour can be reduced to behaviour of individual actor.

2. H. uses also economics:

- Exchange of material commodities and non-material phenomena.
- Perfect market, well imperfect market relations (influence of personal feelings and deeds).

3. Conceptual articulation of concepts in behaviour of psychology and economics..

Fig. 1. The Range of Concepts from Behavioral Psychology and Elementary Economics in Homans' Social Exchange Theory.

Behavioral Psychology	Elementary Economics
<i>a. Reconciled Concepts</i>	
Punishment	Cost
<i>b. Concepts Assumed Equivalent</i>	
Reward (Reinforcement)	Reward
<i>c. Equivalence Not Specified</i>	
Stimulus Response (no equivalent) (no equivalent)	Demand Supply Investment Profits

Problem:

- Homans meant:

psychological 'punishment' = economic 'costs'

||

sensitive negative
feelings

||

symbolic meaning
of lost values or rewards.

- This is not defensible.

C. The explanation of social behaviour.

Explaining propositions are the foundation of explanation of social behavior. (p.87-91).

+ If alternative behaviour is possible the person will choose behaviour with the most chance (P) to get a result with the highest value (V), (rationality proposition)
(Remark: person is not always so rational).

These principles should also be applied on institutional behaviour (contrived rewards).

The approach in this section is to give the propositions as Homans has done, with explanation and comment but not criticism. Critical material will be included later in this chapter, together with an assessment of the general success or failure of exchange theory.

Quoted from the first edition of *Social Behavior*, Homans' first proposition is:

'1. If in the past, the occurrence of a particular stimulus-situation has been the occasion on which a man's activity has been rewarded, then the more similar the present stimulus-situation is to the past one, the more likely he is to emit the activity, or some similar activity, now.'¹⁰

In the revised edition, Homans renames this the 'stimulus proposition' to emphasize his intention to link human behavior with environmental stimuli. It is restated thus:

'1. If in the past the occurrence of a particular stimulus, or set of stimuli, has been the occasion on which a person's action has been rewarded, then the more similar the present stimuli are to the past ones, the more likely the person is to perform the action, or some similar action, now.'¹¹

Let us take these propositions apart. First, Homans' reference is to some person's past. As with experimental psychology's learning theory, a person's past is of particular importance to his present behavior. According to the proposition, the past is composed of situations in which the person was either rewarded or punished (or, rewarded or denied reward). Some aspects of the past have bearing on the probability of

⁹ New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1950. This book is actually functionalist in inspiration, although Homans has used its contents in another way.

¹⁰ *Social Behavior*, p. 53.

¹¹ *Social Behavior*, p. 53.

more likely the person is to perform the activity. That Homans has introduced the more easily count frequencies of other more subjective aspects of the direct relationship between frequency of response to the reward. What Homans is especially interested in is the kind of relationship he thinks the requirements of the theory fulfill.

unit of the activity another gives the activity rewarded by the activity.

proposition' in the revised edition,

the result of his action, the more

relationship between value and activity as about what they value, and activity. Hence, the theory forecasts a relationship between activity achieving valued reward and activity. If it is extremely important to a person, he will be

gaining the reward.

In case it appears that propositions 2 and 3, the success proposition and the value proposition, are saying the same thing, note that proposition 2 gives a general relationship between reward and activity gaining the reward, whereas proposition 3 says something additional. It introduces the concept of value and says, in effect, 'Proposition 2 is true, and also, the more valuable the activity discussed in proposition 2, the more it will take precedence when there is an alternative.'

'4. The more often a man has in the recent past received a rewarding activity from another, the less valuable any further unit of that activity becomes for him.'¹⁶

Proposition 4 is named the 'deprivation-satiation' proposition in the revised edition of *Social Behavior*, and appears thus:

'4. The more often in the recent past a person has received a particular reward, the less valuable any further unit of that reward becomes for him.'¹⁷

This proposition might first appear to contradict some of the others, especially propositions 2 and 3, the success and value propositions. But it does not contradict them. Notice especially that Homans has limited himself to the recent past in these propositions and that he is giving a general statement about the extra amount of activity he expects once the rewarding exchange is in progress. That is what is called a marginal statement – it is describing the effects of additional units of activity. For example, suppose a student goes to talk with his professor and finds the encounter stimulating. He would, according to proposition 2, the success proposition, return to visit the professor again. But he does not come

¹⁶ *Social Behavior*, p. 55.

¹⁷ *Social Behavior*, rev. ed., pp. 28-9.

lish a rate of exchange among
eral, the investments a person
rt, commitment, time, and the
a direct proportion. If we invest
eward. Additionally, we do not
y to receive a large measure of
urves in an exchange with a
comparison to his apparent
se of distributive justice is out-

ge theory have been made
ve justice idea. Remember the
a highly individualistic theory,
relationship does not limit his
only persons in that particular
ween other people become our
assume other people's values,

distributive justice is the time
ne might imagine that exchange
ature of interaction. Without it,
tuations make up little dramas
for what they are worth, and
ment suggests a time dimension
be payoff for past services. In
ung huddled around the same

remains the same, the new propositions are in terms more similar to the
others. These new propositions are called the 'aggression-approval'
propositions. Part one says:

'When a person's action does not receive the reward he expected, or
receives punishment he did not expect, he will be angry; he
becomes more likely to perform aggressive behavior, and the results
of such behavior become more valuable to him.'¹⁹

This proposition introduces an additional theoretical term, 'expectation',
and suggests that expectations of reward must be consistent with actual
reward or displeasure will follow. This seems simple enough. But addi-
tionally, if reward is not up to expectation, aggression results and such
aggression, Homans says, is gratifying. In everyday terms, this seems
Homans' way of writing the getting-even idea found in the original dis-
tributive justice proposition.

The second part of the aggression-approval proposition states the same
ideas in positive form:

'When a person's action receives reward he expected, especially a
greater reward than he expected, or does not receive punishment he
expected, he will be pleased; he will become more likely to perform
approving behavior, and the results of such behavior become more
valuable to him.'²⁰

B. *The deductions*

After Homans' introduction of the propositions and the deductive theo-
retical format, we would expect to find some examples of deductive theo-

¹⁹ *Social Behavior*, rev. ed., p. 37.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 39.

D. Reflections on the exchange theory of Homans.

1. Human and animal behaviour are the same for Homans. Nevertheless there is a difference:

- instinctive behaviour (only animals) (behaviour which normally cannot be controlled by human behaviour; e.g. to breathe, to eat)
- conditioned behaviour (men and animals) (moment of eating).
- symbolic behaviour (only people); (e.g. the use of equipment to eat).

Generalization of conditioned animal behaviour to human conditioned behaviour is possible, but not to symbolic behaviour.

Homans made step from conditioned to symbolic behaviour.

What is the difference between both:

Conditioned behaviour

Symbolic behaviour

- 1) earlier experiences are necessary conditions for behaviour of today
- 2) static
- 3) no normative behaviour
+ it is a characteristic of the individual
- 4) no tie with time and environment; hic et nunc

- 1) earlier experiences are not sufficient, nor necessary conditions
- 2) creative
- 3) normative behaviour supported by a person in a value-system
- 4) tie with time and environment.

2. Psychological and economical reductionism.

3. Homans explains human behaviour only starting from the past.

4. How is it possible for Homans to explain behaviour of individuals in new situations ?

Moreover it is possible that the actor is evaluating future possibilities differently than conditioned possibilities.

5. Homans is using two concepts of exchange:

- profit exchange: profits are higher than the costs (i.e. unfair).
- fair exchange: rewards = costs.

Homans did not make the right connection of types of exchange and types of groups.

The right relation is:

- in two-person group (limited exchange) there is interpersonal comparison and fair exchange.
- in more-persons group (generalized exchange) there is intra-personal comparison and profit exchange.

6. Exchange process may not be reduced to a dyad, when more persons are involved in exchange.

7. 4 principles of distributive justice.

- 1) the value of what I get as reward of the members of a group should be proportional to the value of what I give to the other members of the group in other matters
- 2) the value of the reward received by a member of the group from the other members should be proportional to the investments
- 3) the costs of leadership
- 4) profit must be in proportion with investment.

Homans is not clear which of these rules he is following.

Moreover he tells that two things are divided, i.e. profit and costs.

8. Inequality is the rule according to Homans, equality is exception. Justice is a mixture of both.

§3. BLAU P.

Introduction

1) Links with Simmel.

Purpose of the study of face-to-face relations is:

- social associations, e.g. family, factory, hospital
- processes supporting social associations, e.g. social exchange, authority structure.

2) Blau follows Homans: S.E. is central for explanation. Blau is opposed to interpersonal micro-analyses; he wants to study macro-structures.

3) Blau is opposed - to psychological reduction.

- to 'grand theory'.

He stresses the emergency of interpersonal relations.

A. General characteristics of social exchange.

- 1) - Exchange is characterized by power (cfr. Weber)
 - Practicing power means: deprivation and costs for subordinates.
 - In associations there is fundamental inequality.

2) Unequal exchange is produced by social attraction (= power which brings people to make associations)

---> (1) narrow meaning: we love intrinsically and positively other person

(2) wide meaning: we feel attracted to other person for any reason

This brings to exchange processes characterized by power disequilibrium.

Within this process of exchange differentiation of power is the result.

---> fair exchange

exploitation (if A thinks that B is demanding more than A receives as reward)
criterium: social norms.

This power is legitimated by subordinates or attacked (e.g. formation of groups against illegitimate power).

3) In the exchange relationship of love disequilibrium is a normal phenomenon.

4) Exchange is voluntary.

- Exchange elaborated by physical pressure is not voluntary; if by symbolic power it is.
- Exchange is not generated by reciprocity (directed to past). An actor wants exchange in order to get a service in the future, which he got before for something else. Here he is using rewards.

Kinds of rewards:

1) Spontaneous evaluation:

- cannot be traded in exchange
- this is the use for intrinsic personal attraction, appreciation of opinions, respect for abilities
- because the significance of rewards is founded on spontaneous reactions more than on calculated means to please the actor.

2) Calculated actions:

- can be traded
- this is social acceptance, instrumental services, compliance power
- they are a reward for the actor, even when he knows that he got them to receive something else.

5) Power has important place in unbalanced exchange process.

---> - ability to enforce agreements with the help of negative sanctions.

- power supposes some freedom
- power is asymmetric
- subordinates try to escape from dependencies

Tabel A.

Alternative to compliance	Conditions of independence	Requirements of power	Structural implication
1. Supply inducements	Strategic resources	Indifference to what others offer	Exchange and distribution of resources
2. Obtain elsewhere	Available alternatives	Monopoly over what others need	Competition and exchange rates
3. Take by force	Coercive force	Law and order	Organisations and differentiation
4. Do without	Ideals lessening needs	Materialistic and other relevant values	Ideology formation

If none of four alternatives can be realized, person stays subordinate.

Conflicts in society, between individuals and organizations.

Consequence:

- Power differentiation because of competition for rare commodities.
 - in informal groups: competition for participation, time.
 - in communities: competition for rare provisions.
- In beginning everyone fights the other.
Then differential success.
 - > most powerfull ---> higher social class
 - > weaker become partners in exchange process who receive profits in exchange for subordination.

B. Exchange between groups.

1) Organisation = coordination of collective effort

realized by power ---> coordination
└───> power conflict
 └─> has to be legitimized

- Legitimation of power ---> leadership (not always)
 - └─> is founded on contribution of leader to the group.

If the group cannot get the service of the leader somewhere else,

- > the group will follow leader
 - └─> uses for this norm of fairness

- Leadership contains - obedience of subordinate
 - coercion power of leader

this can coerce members of the group
to do tasks of group

↓
when results are positive ---> leader is legitimated

↓
members will control colleagues.

- Dilemma of leadership
(power of others/power must be accepted by members)
 - 1) - If leader is too independent ---> members will disapprove
 - If leader is only commanding ---> disapproved by members
 - 2) - If leader only listens to members ---> inefficiency.

2) Big formal organizations.

- Typical is contract (of labour) = formal legitimation of 'managerial power'.
 - ↳ worker becomes dependent of organization.

- Power of leader expands by
 - 1) using formally accepted power
 - 2) giving informal advantages to members
 - increase of personal influence
 - possibly more authority.

- Subordinate will rationalize acceptance of commands

----> cognitive dissonance

- only if workers feel obliged to act according to the commands of the manager
- not when workers obey because of the fear for sanctions.

(Cognitive dissonance = "This refers to a situation in which an individual faced with more or less equally attractive alternatives, chooses one but remains doubtful as to whether he has chosen the better one. The theory accompanying the concept is that, feeling the dissonance disturbing, the individual will strive to reduce it, typically by raising the value of the chosen alternative and lowering the value of the other").

- Opposition to power, if workers have feeling of exploitation and oppression

- founded on social norms of today
- founded on future social norms

revolutionary ideology.

3) Specificity of macro-structure (= relations between constitutive social structures)

- There should be an intermediate mechanism

----> i.e. value consensus connecting groups and individuals

+ patterns of power
stratification
moral norms

- On the other hand there is 'a counterinstitutional component in the cultural heritage' and opposition between institutions. In macro-structures solidarity is always problematical.

C. Reflections on the theory.

- 1) Blau stresses economic laws.
- 2) Application of economic theories on social exchange is not without problems.
e.g. problem solving capacity of one person is not always less than that of two persons.
- 3) Man = robot.
- 4) Deduction from exchange theory in relation to behaviour of many persons gives absurd conclusions.
- 5) Concepts not easy to observe.
- 6) People may have cognitive dissonance if they obey because of fear.
Blau stresses strongly the legitimacy of existing dominance.
- 7) Blau sees exploitation very subjectively. Objective criterium is possible, i.e. power imbalance must be used.

Chapter 7. SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

1. Forerunners and founders.

1. Pragmatism.

- C.S. Peirce (1839-1914)
- 'How to make your ideas clear' (1878). Content and meaning of concepts if determined by practical consequences of truth of that concepts.
- Propositions with practical consequences are the truth of the concept.

e.g. what is 'belief'? ---> practical results

of 'belief'

what is 'love'? ---> practical consequences

of 'love'

- W. James (1842-1910)

1) - Pragmatism is philosophical method + base of philosophy of life

- true is what is made true by practical consequences

- only ideas which have success are true

e.g. 'take an egg' + execution of command

'translate' + execution of command

- truth is connected with human life ---> truth is not absolute, but changeable.

e.g. democracy.

- reason: reality is pluralistic, changes and is created; man can interfere in reality.

2) reflexive aspect of consciousness: the self: all what somebody can call his own

self or identity: 1) material identity = body, clothing + family

2) social identity: appreciation / we get from others

3) spiritual identity: what is not part
of 1) or 2); internal, subjective
factor

- J. Dewey: instrumentalist.
 - thinking and doing/science and morality may not be split up)
 - to think = instrument for creative adaptation of men to their environment
 - is part of human action
 - has biological function, because it is part of the interaction organism environment.
 - consequence:
 - to know/to appreciate cannot be split up
 - scientific and daily knowledge is the same
 - experimental method.
 - Dewey is activist, anti-determinist-optimist.

2. G.H. Mead (1863-1931)

1) Behaviourism of Mead

- against B of Watson (no S-R-model).
- social behaviourism: mind and body should be studied together; mind is a fact as body.
- social psychology: behaviour of social groups is not seen as behaviour of different individuals who compose groups.
 - group must be seen as totality
 - behaviour of individuals should be explained in terms of organised behaviour of social groups
 - the totality precedes the parts
 - social action is not explained by S-R
 - └ is dynamic totality
- social process should be approached from internal or external standpoint

- is behaviourist because he starts from observable activity.
- is not behaviourist: because he does not deny internal experience of individuals.

2) Mind

- M. starts from a conscious and social situated person. Self can think about itself. It is caused by social experience.
 - Mind must be explained by 'gesture' (Wundt)
 - e.g. - dogs fight; they immitate each other ---> language of people is also imitation; this concept does not permit a discussion.
 - dogs do not reflect about their gestures.
 - Man thinks about these gestures and gives meaning
 - > significant symbol = language = vocal gesture i.e. when a gesture means the idea behind a gesture and when this idea obtains an other actor.
 - These possibility determines human minds because mind and intelligence is only possible in terms of gestures as significant symbols; to think = internalised and implicit conversation of the individual with itself using gestures.
 - What is meaning ?

Originates in relational field between gestures of human organism and the consequent behaviour of this organism, as it is known (indicated) for another person by this gesture.
 - If this gesture of one person indicates behaviour of another person, than we have meaning (pragmatism)
 - > meaning giving originates objectively
 - meaning giving is not an idea.
 - Conversation in gestures is only significant when it is human (i.e. self-conscious) conversation is.
- ↙ this is condition for reflection and self-reflection (not the case for animals)
- This reflecting person is not close ---> he is able to take the role of the other.

3. Self

----> / body

- it is reflexive (subject and object)
- not totally given at birth (differential according to groups)
- I and me.

a) I

- seen as individuality with which I identify myself
- as 'I' I can reflect about myself
- I experience myself as an historical phenomena
- it is the answer of a man on the attitudes of others

b) Me

- the totality of attitudes of others towards myself
- others did learn what my 'me' is
- I only come to 'I' by passing by my 'me'.
- I and me are different phases in the development of the 'self'.

c) How is the 'self' constructed ?

- look to play of kids
- two phases: play and game.
- 1) play:
 - child plays the role of parents not yet well enough
 - this role is not a real 'me'
 - child could show itself as the others, but does not have internalized the acts of others.
 - child comes to knowledge of one alternative role on one moment (role playing)
- 2) Game:
 - child is learning different roles and learns to change from one role to another
 - role taking: we take a role
 - we do not create the role, but compare with reality
 - reference toward others, individual and 'generalised other' = social groups.

4. Society.

- Starting point is self-conscious individual of others.

from this is social group growing on the base of communication.

→ i.e. participation in the other which supposes:

- 1) appearance of the other in the self
 - 2) identification of the other with the self
 - 3) attain self-consciousness through the other
- i.e. we have to take the role of the other to communicate.

Consequence:

- individual controls itself and controlled by the group.
- individual becomes self conscious and self-critical
- organisation of society is determined by individuals
 - > attitude of group is coming from 'generalised other'
 - > society originates from the capacity of the individual to take the role of the other.
- This is also the case for the 'institution' = a common answer of all members of a community on a particular situation.
 - this common answer differs according to the character of the individual
 - e.g. judge, thief, police, react differently on theft
 - the institution lies in common characteristics of reactions
- Society is not opposed to individual, but I and Me intermingle in social activity (e.g. teamwork).

3. Stone G.P. 'The Circumstance and Situation of Social Status' in Stone en Farberman.

Method: in depth interviewing of 200 married man and women in town in
Mid West (Vansburg: 10.000)

Concepts: circumstance cannot be redefined (e.g. sex)
situation: can be redefined (e.g. age).

Starting points:

Classical standpoint: upper class people in a small town do not belong to the upperclass in a big town.

Stone: This is a mistake. Better is:

for some people status is a circumstance, for others a situation which might be manipulated and which is founded on the 'self' of the person or the social group he belongs to. The classic standpoint stresses too strongly the circumstance of the social status.

- Not all people put by a sociologist in a status category are part of this category.

Statements:

1) Circumstance of social status

i.e. people are convinced that they cannot define social status.

e.g. - truck driver: I do not wear a 'tuxedo'

- waitress in restaurant: I do not wear a fur coat; it makes me as if I was more important than I am.

- this standpoint is typical for lower strata.

- reason: these symbols cost a lot of money.

- these people do not often see these expensive clothes (symbols of high status)

e.g. - they do not visit country club

- women are shopping on different moments:

upper class: are shopping in the morning and in the beginning of the week

lower class: late in the week.

- when people meet other people of other status, they feel uncertain what clothes they have to wear.

- upwards mobile people do not wear clothes according to status.

- in lower class we see signs of ambivalences

---> they want to manage their appearance (---> impression management) (see p. 252-253).

...posedly for work." Yet, in conjunction with this
"Well, your dressing brings out your character."
with!) Asked later what clothes should not be
on, the foreman responded:

...e or flashy clothes. [Interviewer: Why not?] Be-
... clothes. [Interviewer: Why shouldn't they wear
... character, because you're trying to attract attention
... on. [Interviewer: Would you explain that a little
... the friends or the attention of people by your
... it by the clothes you wear.

...g, may be moving out of the circumstance of the

...olier had also begun to question the fated char-
...see this in his response to the question: "Do you
...b makes any difference in your job opportunities

...you could get a better job, if you dressed different,
...but I wouldn't want to any other way. [Inter-
...a contacting people--different stores and different
...do anything about this in planning what you wear
...i'd change to a wool dress pant, but I like a good
...not all bundled up.

...d the controls exerted by his social circle provide
...ulation of his appearance:

...the summer time. In the winter, they're inside and
...arm. Me and the other fellows are outside most of

...by people in his social position, the freight hand

...color in my face. That would offset making my hips look larger.
The same acuity in contriving appearance is manifested in her comments on dress-
ing up:

I never go out without dressing up. I don't feel right. I think there are certain
kinds of clothes to be worn outside the home, a kind for inside the home on an after-
noon, and a thing to scrub--when you wear any old thing. In Florida, at Gulf-
port, you'd never wear a formal. You never see a formal there. At the Moonlight
Club, where we go every Wednesday night, you wouldn't think of going without a
formal. You'd keep trying to pull your skirt down longer, if you did. Only peo-
ple who are tourists--just there for a couple of weeks--could go like that. If they
were just there for a couple of weeks and didn't bring many clothes, that would
be all right. I'm not self-conscious. There are just standards that you should
abide by.

Her staging of appearance at the Moonlight Club, however, is not simply a matter
of immediate response to standards of propriety. Appearance is a product of col-
lective staging undertaken jointly by herself and her husband:

When we're going to a dance, I ask what he's going to wear. Then, we dress in
harmony so the colors won't clash. When he's going out, I ask what he's going to
wear, so I'll know it's suitable and wear the same thing.

This collective staging of appearance extends to her larger social circle and reflects
the conscious maintenance of status enforced by informal controls. Asked what
others in her social position should not wear, the lady replied:

You must dress well. [Interviewer: Why is that?] You're kinda looked at as an
example or pattern, and, if you go around looking sloppy, you're taboo. [Inter-
viewer: Who would you be a pattern to?] My associates--the same as I use them
as a pattern--not that we keep up with the *fonesses*. They'd say, "See Patricia!!
Can't imagine what's got into her. Never saw her look that way before."

Still, the circumstantial character of status does not exclusively typify the lower
levels of socio-economic status. Interesting contrast is provided by the response

- they feel hindered to wear clothes different from their status (status is still circumstance).
- circumstance character of status is not longer true for lower status, e.g. two old ladies of the 'old families'.
 - one lady sees status as determined
 - second lady thinks that status can be defined differently; she adapts her clothes to town and metropolis.

2) More situational character of status.

- for persons who stay in town and get settled, status is more a circumstance, than for people who leave town very often (less control).
- people is wearing clothes according to their status; or they try to adapt their status to clothing.
- clothes are for many people a criterium to define the status of somebody.
- clothing as statussymbol, calls different reactions of people.
- special clothing gives social exclusion.
- some people take the clothes of higher stratum and they interact with them.

3) Conclusion.

- status is a circumstance and a situation.
- to understand somebody's status as a situation which is determined for and by others, we can apply on the status meaning of clothing.
- because status has a situational meaning for some actors they can escape the objective limitations of a status, which is imposed by their labor position.

4. Herbert Blumer (Chicago - branch)

1) What is S.I.

3 prepositions

1. Human action in relation to things is based on the meanings of things for people.

---> reaction against (functional) sociology which relies on 'social position, status, norms, etc.' as causal factors.

2. Meaning is deduced of, or originates from, social cooperation which we have with other people.

---> against realism and psychological theories.

3. These meanings are used and changed by means of an interpreting process when we elaborate things which we meet.

---> two parts:

a) acting individual indicates for itself the things

b) in this selfcommunication the person handles meanings.

Conclusion: S.I. is special approach which follows Mead.

Basic concepts:

a. Self

- man is organism with self ---> man is object of himself

---> self-interaction (indications)

- self is process of reciprocity

- self is active.

b. Act

- earlier: factors as causes of act

- S.I.: act seen from acting man (active man)

c. Social action

2 kinds

1) non-symbolic: people react directly to gestures

2) symbolic: they explain gestures on the base of the meaning given to gestures

this includes:

1) explanation = statement of meaning of act of other

2) description = show the other how to act

- 1) S.I. = form giving process i.e. by interaction we give meaning to personal action and this of others.
- 2) S.I. puts human group life as a process. It always give descriptions and explains.
- 3) S.I. contains all forms of human group life (e.g. conflict, cooperation, etc.)

d. Objects.

= all indicated by people.

- 1) kind of object is depending on the meaning which it has for persons, e.g. apple as object to eat or to throw.
- 2) meaning depends an action of person toward object.
- 3) = social products as result of description.
- 4) people act toward object on the base of their meaning
- 5) because object is indicated, I can order/regulate my action; I do not react immediately.

e. Joint action

= forms of actions, existing in the coordination of acting of different participants

e.g. walking, running, speaking

- in this J.A. they describe and explain

- seen in history

- they are orderly, stable but also changeable

2. Methodology.

a) Sociology is empirical science. B. rejects traditional idealism and realism.

1) Idealism = reality is only in our imagination, B. rejects this; B. accepts that men are imagining everything, but reality can talk back.

2) Realism = reality of empirical world is

1) immovable en 2) has to be formulated in concepts of natural sciences.

B. rejects this and wants to imagine the empirical world and wants to test this pictures by investigating it carefully.

Consequence: 3 methodological principles:

1) Methodology contains total scientific research

- not only quantitative techniques and logical models

- 6 steps

- 1) preconceived picture of empirical world

- 2) asking questions to empirical world, reformulate to problems

- 3) determine data to be investigated + means

- 4) relations between data

- 5) interpretations of results

- 6) use sensityzing concepts.

2) Make methods suitable for recalcitrant world and test.

Follow 6 rules of 1.

3) Testing is done by empirical world and not by research design.

- B. rejects separated use of research techniques

- Study of empirical world is hindered by

- 1) researcher is often outsider

- 2) stereotypes and theories

- 3) determined research techniques

- Naturalistic method

- 1) Exploration: try to come to insight in empirical world which is strange to us ---> direct observation, questioning, listening, biographies group talks, etc.

- 2) Inspection: research of empirical content of analytical (e.g. integration, mobility) elements and their relations

- search from different standpoint.

Chapter 8. ETHNOMETHODOLOGY

1. What is E. ?

H. Garfinkel creates concept in 1955.

- How do members of a jury make decisions ?

What do they see as a 'fact' or as 'imagination' ? What methods and procedures do they use to decide ? Important is: everyday considerations.

Object of E.: methods, procedures, strategies, rules used by people to give meaning to their situation and to construct a pattern of behaviour.

E. is using phenomenology: wants to analyse phenomena as they appear in our intentional consciousness.

Schutz is asking himself: how is it possible that actors with a different intentionality, have common, experience and are able to understand the other ? From where is intersubjectivity coming ? Intersubjectivity is characteristic of human existence.

According to E. intersubjectivity is a realisation of situated, contextual social action.

E. describes how actors produce everyday reality and how they make a coherent, orderly society understandable.

2. Indexicality and reflexivity.

- Garfinkel uses experiments to produce disturbances of the order

- On Friday night my husband and I were watching television. My husband remarked that he was tired. I asked "How are you tired? Physically, mentally, or just bored?"

(S) "I don't know, I guess physically, mainly."

(E) "You mean that your muscles ache, or your bones?"

(S) "I guess so. Don't be so technical."

(S) (After more watching) "All these old movies have the same kind of old iron bedstead in them."

(E) "What do you mean? Do you mean all old movies, or some of them, of just the ones you have seen?"

(S) "What's the matter with you? You know what I mean."

(E) "I wish you would be more specific."

(S) "You know what I mean! Drop dead!"

- My friend and I were talking about a man whose overbearing attitude annoyed us. My friend expressed his feeling.

(S) "I'm sick of him."

(E) "Would you explain what is wrong with you that you are sick?"

(S) "Are you kidding me? You know what I mean".

(E) "Please explain your ailment".

(S) (He listened to me with a puzzled look.) "What came over you? We never talk this way, do we?"

- Experiments show that the meaning of our expressions on behaviour is not unequivocally connected with what we say or do.

- In social interactions we make actively, but as a routine a happening observable, recognizable, understandable = accountable.

- E. studies methods and procedures realizing 'accountability'.

Husband: Dana succeeded in putting a penny in a parking meter today without being picked up.

This afternoon as I was bringing Dana, our four-year-old son, home from the nursery school, he succeeded in reaching high enough to put a penny in a parkin meter when we parked in a meter zone, whereas before he had always had to be picked up to reach that high.

Wife: Did you take him to the record store? Since he put a penny in a meter that means that you stopped while he was with you. I know that you stopped at the record store either on the way to get him or on the way back. Was it on the way back, so that he was with you or did you stop there on the way to get him and somewhere else on the way back?

Husband: No, to the shoe repair shop. No, I stopped at the record store on the way to get him and stopped at the shoe repair shop on the way home when he was with me.

Wife: What for? I know of one reason why you might have stopped at the shoe repair shop. Why did you in fact?

Husband: I got some new shoe laces for my shoes. As you will remember I broke a shoe lace on one of my brown oxfords the other day so I stopped to get some new laces.

Wife: Your loafers need new heels badly. Something else you could have forgotten that I was thinking of. You could have taken in your black loafers which need heels badly. You'd better get them taken care of pretty soon.

- E. starts from the indexicality and reflexivity of language.
- Indexicality: values and expressions have a different meaning according to the context in which they appear.
- People can deduce the intended meaning from the speaking of people.
- Why was somebody making that expression, what way and why on that moment ?

- We look to the biography, actual circumstances, past course of conversation, specific relation between speaker and audience.
- Reflexivity:
 - expressions get their meaning during conversation (time and area of conversation or action) = process of meaning giving
 - Doing an interaction = telling an interaction.
- Social phenomena cannot be seen as things.
- These facts do not demand a causal explanation.
- We do not make a statement about the fact if individuals describe or explain reality correctly.
- They only want to know how actors organize the order of social reality.

3. Methods of everyday action.

A. E. research of science.

- Studies of work = 'practical reasoning' of scientists in the practice of their occupation.
- Work of astronomers:
 - Optical signals of Pulsar NP0532 on oscilloscope.
 - Astronomers see pulsar as physical, natural object existing independently of all kind of methods of observation.
 - Base of research: tape recording and log book.
 - Pulsar is progressively determined as an object by astronomers.
 - Pulsar is not a plain subjective interpretation.
 - Pulsar cannot be seen as a physical, natural object; it is a cultural object.
 - Astronomers give in paper unconsciously a wrong presentation of the process of detection.
 - This is constructivism.

B. Communication behaviour in classroom.

- Evaluation of pupils.
- Techniques of evaluation are constructed from the standpoint of adults.
- This is a mistake ---> we have to look for the 'accounting practices' of children.
- Mehan:
 - Research in 1ste class (video)
 - Pupils learned to make complex sentences with concepts as 'under', 'above', 'under', 'over'.
 - Instructions of teachers were vague, unequivocal, incomplete.
 - Pupils could not give right answer only using interactions of teacher. Pupils use for this only some 'accounting principles'

e.g. - imitation.

"SW: ... Ri, where is the little seed? Where is the seed?

Ri: Under the grass.

SW: Can you say that in a sentence : the seed is under the grass?

Ri: The seed is under the grass seed.

SW: Where is the worm, Je?

Je: Under the grass.

SW: Can you tell me in a sentence?

Je: The the worm is under the grass."

(Mehan, 1974: 115).

- cohort production.

"SW: Is it under the floor?

Ra: Under the ground.

Ra: I'm finished Mrs. Wa.

SW: Is the rug under the ground?

Ri: I'm finished Mrs. Wa.

SW: Not now Ri. The rug is under it's on the floor. Is is under the floor? My hand is under the table. Is the rug under the floor? What is the rug under?

Je: On the floor.

Ro: It's on the floor.

SW: It's on the floor, and we could also say it's above the floor, couldn't we? But the rug is under something, too. In some place I can see it's under the

Ro: Cabinet.

SW: Right, tell us now, Ro, the rug is...

Ro: Under the cabinet.

SW: OK, say it all by yourself now.

Ro: The rug is under the cabinet and the T.V."

(Mehan, 1974: 117).

- searching.

"SW: Now take your orange crayon and make an orange worm under the green line. Pretend that's grass. Just a little wiggle. Here let me show you on this one. An orange worm.

Di: Hey, can you make it on [yours?

Je: [yours?

SW: No, I'm watching you make yours.

Je: Over here?

Ci: Under?

SW: Listen, I'm going to say it just once. Make an orange worm under the green line.

Di: Like that?

SW: Beautiful."

(Mehan, 1974: 122).

4. Invariant characteristics of 'practical reasoning'.

1) Et cetera assumption: we suppose that the other assumes additional meanings, purposes and intentions so that something becomes clear to him.

2) Reciprocity of perspectives.

3) Retrospective-prospective interpretation

- We are prepared to wait for the following to understand the past.

4) Knowledge is what is known by everyone:

normal knowledge (procedure of normalisation)

Cicourel includes: indexicality, reflexivity.

Garfinkel: - indexicality

- documentary method of interpretation.

5. Social norms in interpretative perspective.

E. investigates how people actively interpret to give to behaviour an orderly character.

Rule - governed model of human behaviour

- Parsons' model: social rules organize externally adapted social behaviour.

E. attacks this idea: the actor is not determined, but reflective.

How is people brought to follow norms ? Interpretation of situation and norms by the actor is necessary.

Rules are never clear enough.

Surface rules = norms and their institutional validity in some situations of behavior.

Basic rules = interpretive procedure (invariant characteristics, practical reasoning)

Social norms are 'sense making devices'.

6. Conversational analysis

- Opening - closure

Opening: reciprocal greeting

Closing: preclosing remarks.

- Adjacency pair structures

- Normative character

- Interpretation possibility

- Third position repair

- Naturalistic approach.

7. E. versus Symbolic Interactionism.

- Three common starting points.

- study interactions in their natural setting
- study what really is going on in face-to-face relations
- concrete interactions have to be understood from standpoint of actor.

- Differences

S.I. 1) What is the definition of the situation by actor ?

2) What are the rules of interaction originating from symbolic meaning giving ?

3) What are the processes influencing the society as symbolic interaction to stable and orderly behaviour.

E. 1) How is people defining social reality ?

2) How do they construct rules of interaction and how do they use these rules in concrete situations ?

3) How do they create the impression that social reality has an orderly character ?

S.I.: meaning giving is a social phenomena.

E.: meaning giving happens individually.

